*539 /114 cont./
of all of you, the whites." Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro: "You begin to make war against your enemies." And Yepá Huáke said then to the Alemán: "You go to the east, and your country will be there." Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri
•[821] Baúro: "I am going to perform a miracle." And when /115/ Yepá Huáke said the word "miracle," which in Tukano is called Bajúrese, the sun appeared for the first time; before that there had never been sun. Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro and to the Alemán: "Each one of you will fight in your own country." Then Yepá Huáke said to the Alemán: "Your wealth will have power. Your factories will have airplanes, automobiles, ships, submarines, and all kinds of things that you want to make. And you, too, will die" (26).

26. Will not be immortal.

In this way Yepá Huáke cursed Yúpuri Baúro and the Alemanes. Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro: "For you there remain the
[755] Payés (Yaí and Kúmu). And just as I blew you in order for you to
[756] live, the payé will also blow you and will save you when there are sick ones. If the wind that I blew you comes to an end, the sick one will die, and the dead one will turn into earth again" (27).

27. Possible Christian influence.

Yepá Huáke said to the Alemanes: "For you there remains a medical doctor. If the wind that I blew you falls short, the doctor will give you injections and will save the sick people. You will perform operations on the sick people and take out the sicknesses. When the wind that I blew you comes to an end, then the sick people will die and the dead will also turn into earth again." Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro and to the Alemanes: "You are not going to live for all life. I am going to give you land, and that land will be for all. And that land will never die."

*539 /115 cont./

Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro and to the Alemanes: "Walk with me." And then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro: "Sit here with me at my right." And Yepá Huáke also said to Yepára Dujuío: "Come, sit here at my right, beside your brother" (28).

28. Yúpuri Baúro.

Then Yepá Huáke said to the Alemán: "Sit here at my left side." And Yepá Huáke said to Númio Paraméo (29):

29. The old "white" woman.

"Come, sit at my left side, beside your brother" (30).

30. Alemán.

• [821] And Yepá Huáke then created the wind, because before there had never been wind, and this was a miracle. And this wind caught up the little bench where Yepá Huáke, Yúpuri Baúro, Yepára Dujuío, Alemán, and Númio Paraméo were sitting and carried it up to the sky. It was the wind that held the /116/ little bench so that it would not fall. And then Yepá Huáke said to the Alemán: "Your country is to the east, here you have your tobacco, and this tobacco is to be smoked and in order to have a large family" (31).

31. In order to be very fertile.

Yepá Huáke also said to Yúpuri Baúro: "Your country is to the north, west, and south." Then Yepá Huáke said to the Brazilians: "You remain here in Diaojpekowí." This is why the Brazilians still live in Diaojpekowí, and why Diaojpekowí is in Brazil. Then Yepá Huáke, Yúpuri Baúro, Yepára Dujuío, Alemán, and Númio Paraméo came down from the sky to Diaojpekowí on the little bench. And Yepá Huáke said to the Alemán: "You stay here so

/122 cont./

*539 said: "Silence! Attention! I am going to give this order. Now I am going to give you the night, in order for you to sleep." And Yepá Huáke gave orders to two brothers of Yúpuri Baúro, who were named Serítia and Patáro, for them to go toward the cordillera in the direction of Bogotá and they told Sotá, who was the owner of the Central Cordillera, that Yepá Huáke had given orders for him to give them the "thing of night," because Sotá was the owner of the night and he was the one who made it dark.

*539 •821 513 Sotá said: "Good, I am going to give you a little box where sleep and night are. Take it. Do not open this little box until you give it to Yepá Huáke, and he will distribute sleep and night to each group of all the people. As soon as sleep and night are distributed among all the people, Yepá Huáke will explain to you that the little seeds of sleep and of night must be put on the heart in order to be able to sleep. Do not put these little seeds there on the eyes. And that is all. Take the box between the two of you." Then they said. "Good." And as the box weighed a lot, the two men became tired of carrying the box on the road back to Diawí. They were already getting close to Diawí, and then /123/ the two men said: "What is this box that weighs so much?" And the two men opened the little box. And as soon as they opened the little box, everything became dark and for two hours night rained down. Serítia called an insect that sings at night and that is called Ñamiribejké in Tukano. And Patáro called the same insect, and it was already midnight. Serítia called the same insect again, and Patáro called to the same insect. And for Patáro this second time the insect did answer him. Serítia called the insect again, and for Serítia four insects answered him at the same time. Patáro called the insect again, and for him ten insects answered him at the same time. Patáro said to Serítia: "No more, keep calling quickly." And they opened the little box where sleep and night were. Then all the little insects that are called Ñamiribejké entered the little box. Serítia divided the insects in half; one half for this world and the

*539 /123 cont./
•821 other half stayed in the little box. The day appeared, and since
513 then there is day and there is night. As soon as day and night had appeared, Serítia and Patáro took the box to Diawí. They entered Diawí and delivered the little box to Yepá Huáke, and he received it. And then Yepá Huáke was waiting for them with all kinds of chicha. Then Yepá Huáke said for the night to come.
*539 And they opened the little box that contained sleep and night. And Yepá Huáke distributed sleep and night among all the tribes that were in Diawí. And Yepá Huáke said that two people should go and cross to the other side of the Vaupés River, which is called Diapajsá in Tukano. These two persons were named Cajtá Casóro and Cajtá. Yepá Huáke put on Cajtá Casóro and on Cajtá a little hat of feathers, which is called Pejsaró in Tukano, and some gold earrings, which are called Ajpoápi in Tukano. Then Yepá Huáke put on Cajtá and on Cajtá Casóro a little bracelet of feathers, which is called Bajsákaroa in Tukano. Afterwards he put that special stone, which is called Ujtáboja in Tukano, around the necks of Cajtá Casóro and Cajtá. Then Yepá Huáke put on Cajtá Casóro and on Cajtá a wide and special belt, which is called Yaipirítatia in Tukano, and this belt is made of the teeth of wild animals, such as jaguars and cerrillos /this word is not italicized in the Spanish text/. Then Yepá Huáke put on Cajtá Casóro and Cajtá a loincloth, which is called Uajsóro in Tukano. Then Yepá Huáke put on Cajtá Casóro and Cajtá a fine herb on the side of the buttocks, and that fine herb is called Bará in Tukano. Then Yepá Huáke put on Cajtá Casóro and Cajtá a woven ribbon, which is called Yujtásero in Tukano, around their knees. Then Yepá /124/ Huáke gave to Cajtá Casóro and Cajtá some bands for their ankles, which are called Kejtió in Tukano. Then Yepá Huáke gave to Cajtá Casóro and Cajtá that little bell stick that is called Yaig in Tukano. And Yepá Huáke said to Cajtá Casóro and Cajtá: "Go to sleep." And Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro and to all his people: "Go to sleep." And Yepá Huáke said to Cajtá Casóro and Cajtá: "You have to wake up at midnight. As soon as you wake up, have Yúpuri Baúro and all his people awakened." Then

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804 As a practical means for their calculations, they will even make a small stick the size of an arm span or a handspan; they are, nevertheless, individual and casual measurements.

797 872 803 The arithmetic tables already consitute a serious difficulty for the school children, in spite of being a mere question of memory. Those of better progress do not manage to perform the four operations after /258/ three or four years of attending school. And one notices in all great difficulty in solving the simplest problem in mathematics.

804 805 It seems that it is equally difficult for them to estimate time, as well as distance and area; thus, they are apt to answer that the length of a room is three kilometers and the course of a river, one hundred meters.

c) Astronomy -- Cosmography.

1) The world.

*192 823 According to their conceptions, the earth, Di'tã́, is a plain covered by a regular and solid spherical calotte, which is called Õ'mã̄-se (high thing), the sky, with four doors /Port. portas, doors, gates/ corresponding to the four cardinal points, through which the waters of the rivers escape. If these doors were to be closed, the waters would flood the lands and drown all humanity. (Cf. the Legend of the snake Sɛ̃, p.)

• [821] They differentiate the clouds into oxkó-kururí, the nimbi, and o'mɛ̃-kurúri, cirri.

They call the cardinal points "porta" /door, gate/ Soxpé, and designate them as follows: East, Síro-ká-soxpé (back door); West, Põ'té-ká-soxpé (front door, to wit, of the river); South, Kũ'pé-ká-soxpé (left door, from which the Uaupés rises); North, Dyakȭ-ká-soxpé (right door).

2) Heavenly bodies and stars.

*192 821 They do not know how to explain how the stars, Yõxkõã́, were formed. All the constellations, however, have a legendary origin. They even assert that the sun, the moon, and the stars are people, Maxsã̄, according to their legends. As confirmation, it is to be

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*192 • 821 noted that, while all the inanimate beings belong to the neuter gender in the Tukano language (and, it seems to us, in all the indigenous languages of the region), sun, moon, star, thunder, and the sacred instrument miri (cf. VII - 3, c (3c)) are of the masculine gender.

There is only one name to designate the sun and the moon, Muhĩ-pʉ̃. They originally imagined them as only one and the same being, which illuminated the world, and it was always day. Until night appeared, in the form of dark dust scattered through space.

*822 192 The echo, Axká-keoãra, is owed to Wãx-tĩ (see VII - 4, d (5a)), who, from amidst the forest, amuses himself by imitating some noise. And many of the noises of the forest (the whispering of the wind, the murmuring of the breeze among the /259/ leaves, branches falling) seem to them to be imitations of the music and sounds of the dances that Wãx-tĩ performs.

*192 821 The thunderclap is the aborted children, Paxkó-mãrĩrá-khãra (that is, orphans without a mother), who cry, because it is going to be very hot. "These poor children go around alone, because nobody takes care of them" (Patrícia Vasconcelos).

3) The constellations.

They distinguish the constellations with names of animals or things that they seem to see represented by the stars, Yõxkõá. The knowledge of the constellations is more generalized among the natives than among the civilized. Thus, upon asking a group of young men of 16 to 20 years of age the names of the constellations, all showed that they knew them, and one would recall the name when another had forgotten it, and they pointed to them in the sky. [115]

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They distinguish the following constellations, whose principal figures we give according to the design and in the same order in which they were given to us by an old Pirá-tapuya, Antônio Goes, from the povoado of S. Paulo on the river Papurí.

1. Ãña, ray (batoid fish; ãña is also the name of the planet Venus);
2. Pamõ desté-ke or Pamõ dõxká or Pamõ dõxká sũxtéke (piece of tatu /armadillo/);
3. Kaĩ sã'rĩ-rõ (parakeet enclosure);
4. Daxsyã (shrimp);
5. Yai or yai pwê-ro (high water of the onça /jaguar/);
6. Syó-a yaxpú (adze handle);
7. Wai kaxsá (fish platform, VI - 5, a (2c) /see a (2d)/);
8. Yehé (garça /heron/);
9. Dya-yó (otter);
10. Bõõ (the piranha fish);
11. Yõxkwãtéro (legendary personage);
12. Yõkwãtéro maxkõ (son of Yõxkwãtéro);
13. Ãña pixkõ-rõ (tail of the ray);
14. Koxtí-pa (scorpion);
15. Ko dyéri me'sã (pile of their eggs);
16. Yai õxsé-ka poarí (hairs from the whiskers of the onça /jaguar/);
17. Mãhõã (the jacundá fish);
18. Ñamákurú (a small deer of legend).

4: Silva--381 M-4, 5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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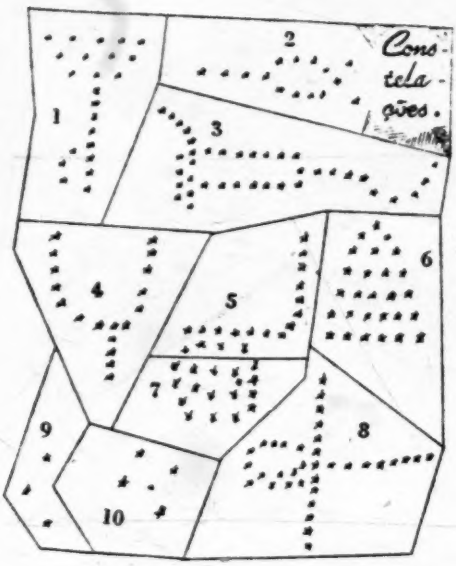

/Constellations/

1. Aña, ray; 2. Pamõ dõxká, piece of tatu /armadillo/; 3. Yaí pwé-ro, high water of the onça /jaguar/; 4. Daxsyã, shrimp; 5. Syó-a yaxpú, adze handle; 6. Waí kaxsá, fish platform; 7. Kaĩsãrĩtõ, parakeet enclosure; 8. Yehé, garça /heron/; 9. Dyayó, otter; 10. Bõõ, piranha.

4) Time and the seasons.

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Today they have a term to indicate the year, Kõmá (plural Kõmãrĩ) (8),

8. According to what some of our informants have stated, the term Kõmá originally indicated only the time of the less abundant rains, which runs from September to March. The period of high water, which ordinarily extends from March to September, is called Pwé-kõ. That period of 10 to 15 drier days, with little or no rain (which is truly rare), an appropriate

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/footnote 8 cont./ time for the burning of the clearings, is called Kõmã-nõ (Uaupés kõmã-nõ), summer, maturity.

which is the interval between one period of low water and another in the rivers. Perhaps by the physiological reactions, but especially by the phases of the moon, they distinguish the period of the lunar cycles or months, and they call it /261/ by the term Muhĩ-pũ (9),

9. It also seems, according to some information obtained, that more remotely they did not distinguish lunar cycles or periods corresponding to the months. It is certain that the term muhĩ-pũ (plural muhĩ-pũrĩ; on the Uaupés muhĩ-pũnĩ), as corresponding to the word month, is not only of recent usage, but is also not very generalized.

which applies to both the sun and the moon, as we have said. The latter, when one wants to distinguish it from the sun, is called
805 Yamĩ-ka muhĩ-pũ, sun-of-the-night. There does not exist, however, a term to indicate the week (10).

10. On the rivers Içana and Aiari we saw a denticulated ruler with transverse strokes serving as a calendar to mark the days of the week and of the month. A slip-knot of tucum would be moved day by day from one denticulation to another. Koch G. (Z. I. 298) reports that the Juritĩ also had a stick with grooves for their calculations: on one of the flattened ends the grooves marked the days of travel as far as the Lago-do-espelho /Lake of the mirror/ (Uaruá-lake), on the other, the days of the return trip.

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805 [115] A Tukano by the name of Dorotéia Brito, with decades of contact with the schools of the Salesian Sisters, furnished us a list of 12 months, with the corresponding names in Portuguese. As it will be seen, there is only partial correspondence of the names with the preceding list, which was obtained for us by Padre Antonio Giacone. Dorotéia explained the origin of the names as being that of the figures which they seem to see in the clouds (sic). It is to be noted that it coincides with the names of the constellations, precisely as the ancients used to divide the months by the constellations.

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These are the names of the months:

January -- Ma'mã̄ bahwarí muhĩ-pũ̄ (new month appeared)
February -- Daxsyã̄ pixkõ-rõ (shrimp tail)
March -- Dyá-yó (otter)
April -- Yaí pwé-ro (high water of the onça)
May -- wãrã̄ (animal-sloth)
June -- Axpã̄ kaxsá (crab platform)
July -- Pamõ pwé-ro (high water of the tatu)
August -- Wai kaxsá (fish platform)
September -- Syó-a yaxpú (adze handle)
October -- Yõxkwãtéro (morning star)
November -- Afia (ray)
December -- Yaí õxpõ (body of the onça)

5) The day.

They know, with enough approximation, how to calculate the hour of the day by the height of the sun. They do not, however, have calculations of years, months, weeks, and days; nor do they know how to tell what date we are at.

They distinguish the following hours of the day:

boreá-mãhõãtise -- (literally, before the light or dawn rises), around four in the morning
Boré-kease -- dawn
/263/ Boréke-yõrõãse -- more light
muhĩ-pũ̄ mãhõã-tyase -- (sunrise), six in the morning

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*192 805 • 821 Axsí mãhṍːti wáːró -- (the heat begins to rise), around nine in the morning

Axsí mãhṍːti daharítero twa'tá nõ̃'kã̃-nĩmĩ -- (the heat increases, the time of returning draws near), around ten o'clock

Daharí-tero -- (time to return, let us say, from the clearing), around 11-12 o'clock

õmã̃-ko dexkó -- (midday), around 12 o'clock

Daharítero mãhṍ-nĩmĩ dõhṍagõ -- (the sun rose and sank after the time to return), around one o'clock

Tõreáro dexkó -- (half the descent of the sun), around 2-3 o'clock

Sahãgõ̃ wemĩ-məhã̃ -- (the sun is going in), around 4 o'clock

Sahã̃-wáːpi-məhã̃ -- (the sun went in), around 6 o'clock

Nai-kea wáː -- (it is getting dark), around 7 o'clock

Nãỹá wáːməhã̃ -- (it got a little darker), around 7 or 8 o'clock

Yamĩ nã̃-məhã̃ -- (the night advanced), around 9 o'clock

Yamĩ-ka bwĩ -- (above the night, late at night), around 10 o'clock

Yamĩ dexkó -- (midnight), around 12 o'clock

d) Natural Sciences.

1) Ideas about nature.

*192 825 a) There are reminiscences of an old belief, according to which they judged that all the animals were "people," maxsã̃. Some stated to us categorically that the animals are "people." Confirmation of this belief perhaps is the fact that in the Tukano language all the animals are of the masculine gender; whereas all the inanimate beings are of the neuter gender.

When they catch an animal or group of animals, for example, deer, anta, etc., tarrying to drink water or to lick a stone (cf. anta sucker, VI -- 5, b (2), Note 73), they think that these animals are besotted because they have spent a night of dances and orgies.

They likewise explain that the piracema /school of fish/ is a large concentration of fish solemnizing a caxirí.

/264/ There is a species of white vulpídeos with some black feathers and called "baaró" (known also by the regional name of "tesoura" /Muscivora tyrannus/), which at certain times appear in flocks looking for worms. Being light in weight and having abundant

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He believes that the clouds reveal the sicknesses to him, as well as other facts which are of interest to the group or to the individuals. He subjects the students to tests of ability. He sends them to observe the clouds and to give the interpretation, and he corrects them. -- "That form of cloud represents a woman and not a man, it represents a child and not an adult. It is not this part that is sick, but that other one."

/278/ He already sees beforehand that the sickness is incurable, and, thus, when he is called, he refuses to go, and he will say to his disciples: --"Let us not go to give treatments, it is useless, he is going to die."

When he foresees the cure, he then goes to the patient's house and makes the diagnosis, saying whether the cause of the pains is Õxtĩ, Waxkarĩ, or Uhá-phĩ. The elimination of these foreign bodies that cause the pains is the first condition for the cure. He achieves it with deep suctions, repeated three or four times, done directly over the ailing organ, intermingled also with singing, groaning, and exorcisms.

He does not fail to give advice to the patient, for a prompt recovery or in order to avoid a relapse. Among these counsels the informant cited: "to abstain from the abuse of sexual relations."

The rest of the treatment is under the care of the Kõmũ (about whom we shall speak later), according to the prescriptions of the paje. It is done with blowings, invocations, or conjurations. These are old formulas, whose meaning they do not know nowadays, and they vary according to the cause of the sickness. The Komũ, having between his hands the cuia of mingau which the patient is going to drink, when the sickness is caused by Waxkarĩ located in the organism, utters a conjuration that begins with the words -- "Yára-páruri-yãvi."

Minutes afterwards the patient begins to feel better, and the cure will come later.

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756 the vengeance is likewise wreaked against them (32).

32. Some assert that poison cannot be administered to the pajé. "He sees even from far away." This belief is advantageous to the pajés. It seems, nevertheless, that, at least nowadays, not everyone endorses it. In October of 1946, [753] a native from Ipanuré died of pneumonia. They attributed the sickness and death to the pajé from the neighboring povoado of Cigarro. When this pajé, with some persons from his povoado, were given the job of transporting some of our luggage through the varadouro /open passage through the forest/ of the cachoeira of Ipanuré, the Indians of this locality abandoned the work, hid in the forest [illegible] when the pajé passed by on the road, o[illegible] men from Ipanuré gave him a blow with a stick, which he avoided, turning his head and covering it with his arm, which was broken at the elbow and forearm.

His presence in the vicinity of a povoado at night, when he goes to do his fishing, is always suspicious. If after one of his visits to /281/ some maloca (especially of another tribe) some death or misfortune happens there, the pajé will be blamed (33).

33. In a maloca of Jandú, on the igarapé Umarí, tributary of the Tiquié, shortly before our passing through there (December of 1947), • [821] lightning had struck. The pajé, who had threatened to hurl a bolt of lightning there, was blamed for the misfortune.

[627] Some pajés have found themselves obliged to abandon the povoados and stay away for a long time, until the anger against them had lessened.

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756 • 821 [197] In the same way they manage to convince themselves of their power over nature and often threaten to make lightning strike. They will attribute their failures to the disturbing act of another, stronger pajé. The Salesians had built in Iauareté the first large pavilion of the seat of the Mission, when, on the occasion of a storm, a bolt of lightning struck the newly built section, with great fright and alarm for all, without victims, however. Days later the Taryana pajé of the locality appeared, very troubled, assuring the Superior of the Mission that /284/ it absolutely was not he who had made that lightning strike. It was a more distant pajé, and his enemy, who had done that, in order to draw the odiosness upon the one who lived in Iauareté.

755 756 [115] Some information by Patrícia Vasconcelos (October of 1955) makes us understand that at least some pajés are aware of their own responsibility and have the idea of professional duty. Her uncle Marco is a strong pajé from the povoado of S. Luzia, Brazilian bank of the river Papurí. "He blows a lot, but he does not pour water," said Patrícia, that is, he does not use the process of the ablutions. I would not know whether this is a spontaneous defense made by the young woman; perhaps she has heard some Missionary criticize this therapeutic process, responsible for some deaths of pneumonic patients. On one occasion he said to Patricia: --"My niece, it is a serious thing to be pajé. He must blow right (that is, perform his rites with exactitude). If he does not blow right, [177] he will be punished." Would this be the concept of a judgment after death? And repeating what she had heard from her uncle, the young woman added: -- "When the patient has a headache, the pajé must invoke (?) all the thorns that went into the head of Jesus. All the sicknesses were the sicknesses of Jesus." This, once again, is evidence of how even in the beliefs and the rites of the xamã /shaman/ interculturation of Christian elements is realized.

3) The Komũ, an initiate.

One understands the easy association between the "smoke" and the "blowing," the two important magic resources in the curing process of the pajés.

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e) Cult practices.

1) Local cult (litobolia).

There are no temples, that is, buildings solely dedicated to the deity, where the religious functions are performed. Nor has it been reported that there is any private cult or individual worship of the deity, ceremonies, prayers, unless as cult one understands some practices that seem to us magical, such as litobolia.

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They treat some places with respect and fear; this is tabooism. One does not see there, however, manifestations of cult, individual or social. Such are, for example, some cachoeiras and stones. And about them, in general, they tell interesting legends. They do not allow stones to be taken from such cachoeiras (35),

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35. The Bishop Dom José Domitrovitsch thought of dynamiting the cachoeira of Parí-cachoeira, in order to facilitate navigation. The local population became agitated, and the tuxaua Julio came to advise him not to do it, because otherwise fevers and sickness would come. The Bishop judged it more expedient not to go against the opinion of the Indians. Brother Mateo (of the Congregation of Montfort), at one of these rocks of the cachoeira of the thunder, Bũxpó-pweã, of the igarapé Cuiú-cuiú, tributary of the Papurí, removed a fine splinter, in order to extract a little honey. One of the Indians warned him that he should not do that, because "lightning will strike." And, to his great surprise, lightning did strike at some distance, when absolutely nothing indicated it; it was really "un fulmine a ciel sereno" /a bolt of lightning in a clear sky/. They

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/footnote 35 cont./ explain the outbreak of malaria that in 1931-2 decimated the population of Taracuá-ponta, river Uaupés, as the consequence of having taken a stone from the cachoeira of the beijú, Ahũ-gã̃-pweá, actually located some hundreds of kilometers away, on the river Papurí.

asserting that, if someone were to try it, lightning would strike him. It is on some of these rocks that they go to finish the making of their canoe, or the preparation of their nets and fishing gear (36).

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36. There is one of these rocks near the povoado of Parí-cachoeira, river Tiquié.

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/335/ Near the "igarapé of the caterpillar," pixkõ-rõ-ỹa, headwaters of the Cuiú-cuiú, tributary of the Papurí, there is a rock that a woman should not see: if she looks at this rock, she will never have children. And when they go by this place, the women and maidens turn their faces to the other side. Fish from this and from some other igarapés cannot be eaten; if somebody were to do it, he would suffer from toothache.

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In Jabutí-cachoeira, on the river Tiquié, there is a rock called nõ'mya-ga (rock of the women, or rock woman?) with a groove that looks like a vulva to the natives. When the young men go by there, they throw a piece of beijú, a lemon, or some other fruit at it from their canoe. It is what they call doxké-sã̃-i'ã̃sé, that is, they throw to hit the mark. Because, they explain, if the object thrown remains in the groove, they will soon have wives. This rock, for them, is very precious. They also think that, by rubbing the hand over it, later they will easily learn any trade.

/364 cont./

789 2nd. -- Another variety is rubbed on the fishing line in
824 order to attract the tucunaré (bu'ú) and aracú (bo'téa) fish.

*[192] 3rd. -- With a third variety the young woman rubs the
[226] face, hands, and breasts, in order to attract young men to her.
[832]

The first time they wear a new pair of pants, it must be on top of others already old.

789 In relation to the atmospheric phenomena, there are many
291 practices and prescriptions:

• 821 1st. -- One must not point at the rainbow with the finger; if one does so, the finger will rot.

/365/ 2nd. -- When there is a lunar eclipse, and while the phenomenon lasts, everyone will set to work very noisily; the man will split firewood, the woman will noisily clean her house, etc.; the purpose of these noises, as Wallace has already revealed, is to chase away Wãx-tĩ, whom they believe to be killing the moon.

3rd. -- When the new moon appears, the children do gymnastics, open the legs, stretch the arms, etc. They say that they do so in order to grow.

They set themselves to blowing toward the sky, in order to drive away the storms or the rain.

When the women do not want to work in the clearing, they beat on the ears with the open hand, for the purpose of calling the rain.

789 c) Animals. If the serẽ'rõ (Uaupés sene'nõ) (a small wood-
825 pecker) sings while they are planting, they say that the clear-
*[192] ing will be very luxuriant: "serẽ'rõ uukã, kõmã-ro a'tĩrosa (when the woodpecker sings, summer will come).

They throw into the river the snakes that they kill; to bury them would attract other snakes.

When they find a young bird without feathers from the wings up, they believe this is because it saw the curupira.

/388 cont./

831 Confirming this opinion is, first, the fact that the relations
833 during the caxiri must take place on the ground, outside the maloca (122),

> 122. When they are more intoxicated and excited, they also violate this custom, relations taking place even inside the maloca. So reported some of the natives.

and that in some tribes the woman must first kiss the ground; whereas the ordinary relations take place inside the maloca and in the hammock.

[241] Another confirmation of this sacred character, it seems to
[835] us, is the opinion that they regard as good and recommended the relations, even incestuous ones, when the women go to the clearing. The relations are even compulsory when it is a matter of a new clearing to which the woman is going for the first time.

[821] Finally, the religious character of the public incestuous
[835] relations is further documented by the circumstance of their indication on the occasion of the new moon and lunar eclipses.

One can conclude, then, that sexual liberties in these cir-
831 cumstances, incestuous or not, have the character of a rite in connection with /389/ the fertility of the soil and of nature in general. We have, thus, among the tribes of the Uaupés, the notion and practice of the intichiuma, which is also in force among other human groups, that is, sexual liberties are magic ceremonies in order to guarantee the reproduction of the animal or vegetable nature. They are, by the way, very common practices, proclaiming lunar beliefs and cults of matriarchalist origin.

And they constitute, in turn, proof of the religious character of their feasts.

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/402 cont./
It also consists of several parts, the principal ones are: sawároa baxsá (song-dance of the water lizard); ahĩ-a baxsá (song-dance of the beijú); ki baxsá (song-dance of the mandioca).

3rd Dance -- with the maracá, yaxsã. It is called pwá baxsá (pwá is the name of a fish that the Wanãna call fiĩxkwãna in their idiom). All the men, from the beginning to the end of this long dance, shake the maracá continually and rhythmically with the right hand (the left one holds his own lady by the shoulder, and the latter embraces him by the waist). They also rhythmically sound a whistle of two tubes, which they will let hang from the neck when they must sing. It is the most interesting number of the native dances that we have attended. They first do a movement outside in the yard, then they enter the house, and, after a few minutes of choreography inside, they again go to the dance yard. There is an evolution in a row, which little by little closes into a circle, which now becomes tighter, now larger. At a given moment the pairs of dancers, each man with his lady, are arranged in a column turned toward the east, later in the opposite direction, toward the west. Thus arranged in a column, the last pair goes zigzagging between the other pairs, from the penultimate one to the first one, as if they were sewing. They explained that it is the "dance of the harvest of the caroá" (fiber that is used as fishing line). When their evolution is finished, the last pair returns to their initial position, and then the pair from the other end, that is, the first one, does the same stitching and returns to their position. It falls, now, to the penultimate pair to do the movement, and then to the second one, and thus all the pairs pass by, in turn, performing the stitching or the harvest of the caroá. During this they vibrate only the whistles and the maracá. At other times during this dance there is also singing.

• [821]

4th Dance -- called "Bwá of the night," because night has already fallen. They again go out, as homage to the night and to the moon, /403/ muhĩ-pũ (said Tomás Paiva). The tunes vary for these songs, all of which are composed of several parts, with many repetitions.

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/431 cont./

553 782 [562] through life, as they have protected and accompanied his parents and grandparents, who never failed to provide what is due the mothers of things. The litany is not short, and they spend hours in the invocation, made in a loud voice, but without accompaniment on the part of those attending, who, seated on the seats, in the hammocks, on the ground, wherever they can, fill the house, and drink cachiry, which is served abundantly by the women, who are in the kitchen and come only for this service. When the sun reaches the highest point, that is, at midday, the officiants, who remained smoking and drinking silently since the first invocation ended, start again. The third invocation begins about two hours before sunset; but then there are already found in the house not only the men, but also all the women and all the children, and everyone repeats in loud voices the name of each mother of things that the three elders invoke. The child who is to receive the name is left to play as it wishes in the middle of the room with the other children, if there are any, and when the last ray of the sun is about to disappear, the pagé, who with the child's father and the oldest relative has come out of the little room where he spent the day, holds it in his arms and, presenting it to the sun in such a way as to make it receive the last rays, says the name, and this is then repeated by everyone in loud voices. The name that the child receives is often the name which one of the grandparents already bore or some other name which might be pleasing at the moment, and this especially if it is a matter of the chief's child. Many times, however, the child's name is chosen and given to it in consideration of the object that it was holding at the moment when the pagé held it to present it to the sun, to the gesture that it made, to the word that it said, because then it is as if the sun itself /432/ had given it the name. This, then, explains how in many cases, when one looks for the meaning of the native names, one has the surprise of finding the most foolish meanings."

[821] 551 553

[177] It is observed at present that, even before the baptism, besides the Baxséke Wamẽ given by the pagé, it receives another Christian name, or, better, a name which the civilized customarily use. In general they are not called by name, except by this Christian name.

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task. He is said to stretch the young girl's vagina until he can insert three fingers. He then announces, "You are a woman." The Cubeo say that if a girl should reach her first menstruation with her hymen intact coitus will ever after be painful for her and she will have difficulties during parturition. Digital defloration is a secret act; officially, the Cubeo credit the moon with the act. The moon copulates at night with a young girl and brings on her first menstruation. Thus, a prepubescent girl is referred to as *paúnwe bebíko* (one who has not yet copulated with the moon).

The pubescent girl (*pupúni*: one who is blown)[3] is said to be secluded for ten days behind screens at the rear of the house, taking nothing but cassava and water. She leaves the house to excrete, through a secret doorway in the side wall of the maloca so that she will not be seen by a man. She uses a scratching stick on her head or else her hair will turn white. Some said her hair would fall out. To develop a tender facial complexion she washes with a leaf that creates a lather and she covers her face with rubber latex and painfully pulls it off. She also pushes dried peppers up her nostrils until her skin burns red with irritation. The pain of this facial treatment is a parallel to the ordeal of the ants and the whipping endured by the boys, but the justification is different. A mother says to her daughter, "You have been accustomed to disobey me. Now let me see how much pain you can stand."

At the end of the ten days her mother paints her body with genipa and she goes to the river to bathe. In the evening a drinking party is held in the girl's honor and her mother pushes her forward to take part in the dances. The period of seclusion is an affair of the women and the men behave as though nothing unusual were going on.

When a *Bahúkiwa* girl came of age during my stay among them she was sent to the house of her paternal grandmother nearby for proper seclusion. I was not allowed to go near the house and I did not see the girl until she had emerged again for the drinking party. Her hair had been cut short. I may have missed many details. Father Giacone, for example, reports that among the neighboring Tucano the shaman officiated at a girl's puberty isolation. He cut her hair short, burned the cuttings in a ritual manner, and then sent the girl to dispose of the ashes in the river.

After her first menstruation a girl is eligible for marriage but the change in her life is otherwise minor. She wears love charms and takes more care of her personal appearance. She is still attached to her mother's household.

[3] She is also known as *nominyaivi* (becoming a woman).

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The Cubeo have no dread of menstruation and menstrual taboos are relatively minor. A man will not copulate with a menstruating woman because he believes it will make him lazy. On the other hand, if there is a sick person in the house a menstruant will move and live in a shelter nearby, or else the ill person cannot recover. For her part the menstruant must avoid the river, or she will be killed by the water anaconda. She may not enter a canoe for fear that the headman of the fish will destroy the canoe.

Menstrual blood (*hivé*) is not human blood, but is believed to be blood of the moon. The moon, according to the Cubeo, is an ardent hunter who comes down to earth to copulate with unmarried girls and with women who are not pregnant. No one conceives by the moon. The moon is said to deflorate the woman, causing her to bleed. The hymen, according to this belief, grows back and the moon repeats his sexual connection each month. When a woman has erotic dreams she knows that the moon will come to her.

SEX LIFE

Under Cubeo rules of phratric exogamy the young people of a community may reach the age of marriage without having had sexual relations with an eligible marriage partner. The young people are limited to clandestine incestuous affairs and to public homosexual play. It was difficult to get information on the sex life of the unmarried, although I was aware of affairs between sib brother and sister. One informant told me that it was not improper for brother and sister to indulge in external coitus. According to this man, it was intromission that constituted incest. True coitus between sib brother and sister is not regarded lightly. Offenders may be put to death, and their souls after death, it is said, will be animals that will not associate with people. I never witnessed any gesture of sexual intimacy between a grown boy and girl of the same sib or phratry. Young children who indulge in heterosexual play are shamed by the older boys for ignoring the proprieties of privacy.

As for homosexual play, girls stroke one another's nipples to produce erection, and boys sometimes indulge in mutual masturbation. This kind of play is public and involves no shame. I have already mentioned the Cubeo enjoyment of body contact. In the younger people it is a mild form of homosexual eroticism. True homosexuality, however, seems to be rare. I learned of no case of persistent male homosexuality, and only one case of a woman. This woman developed strong male characteristics and eventually, it is said, she grew a penis.

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Certain indications, such as elaboration of potency magic within the ancestor cult, the frequency of adultery between young wives and older married men, and the common male complaint that their wives are too ardent, all point to some male sexual difficulties at least in the early stages of marriage. The women, who have their private erotic relationship with *aiyá*, the moon, regard this luminary as an inspector of connubial coitus. He comes to observe, the women say, how much sexual power their husbands have. The moon, however, is only an observer, for male potency is the province of the ancestors and is not affected by any other magic. Women have love magic which they use often, but only to draw the attention of a man. It is interesting that while women ply men with love magic a man uses such magic only once, when he is seeking a bride. Once he is married he may prefer to apply an antiaphrodisiac to his wife. The suggestion then is of masculine potency disturbances. We may attribute these disturbances to the rules of community exogamy and their accompanying outlets in homosexual play, in masturbation, and in near incest. Since homosexual play and masturbation involve neither shame nor apparent guilt, their psychological effects are probably not lasting. Near incest, on the other hand, is censored and is kept secret, insofar as that is possible in a small community, and may, therefore, be a serious source of guilt and of more serious sexual maladjustment. Adultery does not seem to offer a convenient sexual outlet for the younger unmarried men, first because the young wives prefer an affair with an older married man, and second because very few young men would dare to risk the public disapproval of such an act. An older man will face his outraged sibmates, not to mention the outraged husband, with some *savoir-faire*. If necessary he will leave the sib and start an independent community elsewhere. But no young man will willingly break the bonds of male sib solidarity. He must fall back, therefore, upon the more troublesome sexual outlets.

Presumably what are problems of sexual adjustment for the boys are problems for the girls as well, but perhaps of lesser significance. Many girls have enjoyed satisfying sexual relationships with whites in the region, and even in near incest affairs the psychological problem for the girl would seem to be reduced because it is the male who is the guardian of sib morality and not the girl.

POSITION OF THE AGED

Among the Tucano, Father Giacone observed (1949, p. 25), the aged were miserably neglected. This in a sense is true of the Cubeo

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771 move against other powers or forces. That is to say, the Cubeo know that growth, potency, and fertility are part of the ordinary scheme of things and that there is no force conspiring against such ordinary developments. The *Bekûpwãnwa* are not thought of as jealous, sensitive, threatening, or likely to take offense. It is noteworthy, too, that the emphasis in growth is upon the individual far more than it is upon the more abstract concept of sib. The Ancients will not guard the people against any unexpected dangers. To guard against menace, whether general or specific, there are specific measures that the sibmen themselves must take.

771 All other anthropomorphic beings in the Cubeo cosmos are either
776 menacing, mischievous, or harmless. Menace from supernaturals, however, is relatively moderate, not to be minimized but lacking in dread. The only menace that truly frightens the Cubeo is that which they attribute to persons.

776 The *abũhuwa* are cannibalistic forest monsters, the bogy men of the children. At the mourning ceremonies they are made to appear grotesque and absurd and hence harmless. There are many stories of human encounters with *abũhuwa* as ogres. In most, the *abũhuwa* are overcome. They can be outwitted, caught, and killed.

The story is told of an old woman alone in the maloca with two young children. *Abũhuwa* entered the house and the children were able to escape by climbing up to the house beams. But the old woman was caught. An *abũhukũ* rolled her between his palms until she became all soft and he sucked her out from the top of the head in the way a Cubeo child eats a banana. He hung her skin over the branch of a tree. When the others of the maloca returned they saw an *abũhuwa* family within. They set capsicum afire at the door of the house and as the *abũhuwa* sought to escape its acrid smoke, that is noxious to all unwanted spirits, they struck them down with clubs and killed them all.

Another tale is told of a hunter who, in the woods at night, was seized by the throat from behind. It was an *abũhukũ*. He struggled with it and killed it with a knife. In the morning he went to see it and it had taken the form of a sloth. *Abũhuwa*, it is said, are all very
[754] hairy. Their armpit hair makes a very potent sorcery "poison." Any man who is bold enough may seize an *abũhukũ* and tear his armpit
• [821] hair. It is said that the ogre can be seized only when the moon is in eclipse or is red and low in the sky. The hair must be from the left armpit and can be cut only with a corn husk. It is cooked until reduced to ash, and then is mixed with water and allowed to dry to a paste in the sun. The paste is kept in a small gourd dish sealed with

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776 mythical fish with a mouth that has the lower jaw of the puño and
825 an upper jaw shaped like the beak of a parrot. Should a menstruant enter a canoe he will break it to bits. The Cubeo do not say that their fish ceremenials are for the purpose of promoting success in fishing. Their view rather is that when they are happy with a catch of fish they enjoy dancing with them. Increase magic may underlie the Cubeo relationship with fish. But if it does they either no longer recognize the instrumental motive or else they refuse to acknowledge it.

825 As with the *Bekûpwānwa*, the Cubeo relationship with the animal
771 world is largely one of establishing proper social relationships. In such relationships compulsion is out of place. In the animist world view of the Cubeo the entire animal world is communicant with the world of man. Some relationships, as has been noted, are dangerous, and therefore stand out in a special category. Among the dangerous relationships is that of the jaguar. Since the jaguar is identified with the shaman, it is more suitably discussed under the heading of shamanism. There are birds, such as a parrot called *bauvéko* and marûku monkeys, who are feared because they are foretellers of misfortune. For the rest, and with the exceptions noted previously, the relationship between man and the animal world is casual and friendly. On the river, as we have already observed, the Indians address birds and fish by name. Their intense interest in domesticating animals of almost every variety as household pets must also be considered as part of the effort at communication of a concrete form.

825 The birds, *máwa*, are friendly spirits. They emerged, it is said,
776 from Uaracapuri with the Ancients and were originally in human form. The birds are the planters of fruits and berries and are their
[273] guardian spirits. They are appropriately at the same time the guard-
[532] ian spirits of intoxication, a bird with a corn-cob body and wings of
[765] a manioc tray fragment presiding in that capacity over the *áyne*.

The luminary *aryá*, who is both sun and moon, is a more distant
776 anthropomorphic spirit.[1] The Cubeo interest is in the moon, the li-
•821

[1] The doctrine of *aryá* as both sun and moon is mythological only. It does not mean that the Cubeo do not distinguish clearly between these two bodies. *Aryá* refers to the anthropomorphic being whose activities are actually in moon form; it refers also to direction. East is called by the Cubeo *aryádaino* (*aryá* [the sun] is coming). West correspondingly is expressed as "*aryá* is going." To express time, however, the sun is referred to by the particular name of *handwūkahū*, an anthropomorphic form that has, however, no anthropomorphic connotation to my knowledge. *Handwū* refers to time in the abstract, while *handwū koriha* (sun in the center) means "midday." All specific times are given by describing the position of the sun in the sky. The word for "day" or "daylight" is *hánan* and is apparently based upon the verb root *ha* (to see). The Cubeo disclaim any anthro-

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bidinous nocturnal hunter, and not in the sun. The sun, they say, is merely the moon giving heat and light during the day, "when people need it." As sun, *avyá* lacks anthropomorphic character. The interest of the Cubeo in the moon rather than in the sun seems related to their concept of nightfall as the sacred time. Almost all ceremonies are night ceremonies, whereas daylight is the time for work. Apart from his erotic role the moon is a hunter with a stone-tipped spear (*temúdjo*). Bits of the blade chip off which the finder can use as potent sorcery magic, killing his victim by poisoning. The moon is also an opener of graves of those who eat a seed the Cubeo call *óthai* and which is used as fish bait. The Cubeo tell the story of the man who hoped to steal the lamp of the moon (*djuwaíbo*) by covering it with a pottery dish. Some light showed and *avyá* secured the lamp to the back of his neck and flew off.

When there is an eclipse of the moon, the Cubeo say that the spirits of the dead are being dispersed. They also fear that the moon is dying. As the moon reddens I have witnessed them running about shouting to one another in genuine terror that the moon is dying. They believe that those who live in the direction from which the eclipse shadow is moving will die. The moon sickens of the same sorcery afflictions that beset humans, although they do not believe that one of their medicine men has the power to sicken the moon.

HUMAN SPIRITS

The soul is called *umé*, which also means "breath" and "breeze."[1] As a spirit entity the soul is referred to as *umémakũ* (or *umémako*). The soul leaves the body during dreams, returning as the dreamer awakes. The *Bahúkiwa*, at least those with whom I discussed the subject, did not believe that the *umé* might fail to return and so cause death. Death and illness result, they insisted, from something entering the body. At death, the *umé* leaves the body permanently, journeying after a suitable interval to a nearby river, dwelling of the spirits. After death the *umé* has human form. It can be heard talking and can be seen by the shaman. The spirits of people who have been adulterers, uncooperative, breakers of the bonds of ritual friendship, or in any other way markedly unsocial assume an animal

[1] Koch-Grünberg (1915–16) also noted *umédde* (pulse) and *umémde* (heart). I believe that the connotation of the term is revealed by the verb *umédani*, which means "to get up," "to rise."

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778 of teaching people useful things. In the Cubeo allocation of moderate powers among men and supernatural beings, men get their fair share, so to speak.

The native term for power is *parié*, a term that applies to the strength and vigor of a warrior, the magical potency of the ancestor flutes and trumpets, the awesome fierceness of the jaguar, as well as to the clearly magical powers of the shaman or of the layman who has learned how to cure and to practice sorcery. The term simply means "able" and is the verb in the common expression "I can do it." Thus, the distinction we might draw between natural and supernatural powers is not one that is recognized by the Cubeo.

778 The shaman is the principal holder of *parié*. He may be known 756 as *pariékokũ* (man of power) or as *yavi* (jaguar). By either term the Cubeo conjure up the image of power. As *pariékokũ* it is power in a neutral sense; as *yavi* it is power in the aspect of dread. Every *yavi* is a *pariékokũ* but not every *pariékokũ* is a *yavi*. The *yavi* is the supreme shaman, the one who can take the form of a jaguar, who consorts with jaguars, who maintains the jaguar as a dog. The *pariékokũ* is one who has learned how to cure as well as to kill but, not being a jaguar, is a second-class practitioner. Every sib has its *pariékokũ*, but *yavis* are scarce. To distinguish between the *yavi* and the *pariékokũ*, the Cubeo say of the former *urdna pariékokũ*, *urdna* meaning "big." It is because of this Cubeo usage that I have thought it advisable to discuss shamanism under the heading of "power."

The power of the shaman is called *parúkũ*, a noun form with the connotation of a substance. When a shaman has accomplished an exceptional act it is his *parúkũ*, it is said, that enabled him to do it. The great shamans control the weather, for the most part unpleasantly. They bring storms, hail, fog, strong winds. They can lower the depths of a river as great as the Vaupés. When the river bottom of the smaller Cuduiarí is exposed, however, the attribution is to natural causes. The play of the shaman with weather and the river level is only a demonstration of his power and has no sinister motive. Shamanistic power also includes the control of tutelary spirits. Generally, a shaman controls a number of insect spirits who do his bidding, in a minor capacity, however, as scouts and as messengers. A shaman on the Cuduiarí once found a little girl who had blundered into the forest and become lost. He claimed he had sent an insect to look for her.

Another demonstration of shamanistic power is in the battles the shamans wage against one another. A *yavi*, I was told, has a different

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and curing ritual, including handling of the shaman's rattle. The bark of the *kuriákũ* tree is then prepared in a narcotic drink, also called *kúria*, which teacher and novice take together while singing the shamanistic songs. The instruction period concludes when shaman and novice sit side by side and under the influence of *kúria* sing and shake the rattle from dawn to sunset. At sunset a storm arises and passes quickly. Novice and teacher then go to the river to bathe; they rinse their mouths with water, return to the house, and eat. The novice spends five more days in isolation, repeating the insertions, and then he returns for his examination. He drinks *kúria* and sings until clouds come up. Then the teacher says to him, "Now you understand." He sings some more until the storm breaks, and the examination is over.

Curing is not a highly developed art. The shamans are the first to acknowledge their limitations. They claim only to be able to remove spines (*duwáiyo*) and crystals (*kenáddox*) that another shaman has "shot" into the body. A common term for curing is *duwaitũwũ* (to extract spines). The repertoire of sorcery techniques, not to mention the poisons that sorcerers and malevolent people use, go beyond the assured skills of the curer. Thus there are many ailments which the Indians must be prepared to accept as irremediable. Under the circumstances, the anxious despair into which an ailing Indian falls when ill is readily understood. At the same time, the Cubeo are eager to accept medical treatment for any ailment, regarding such treatment as superior to that offered by the *yaví*.

I witnessed only one full curing treatment which, I was assured, was standard. The patient, an old man who died shortly thereafter, was carried from his hammock and seated on a low stool at the front plaza. The medicine man, who was referred to as *yaví*, a respect term only since he was not credited with the power to be a jaguar, held a rattle hung with parakeet feathers. He asked that two black earthenware pots filled with water be brought to him. He then went off to some bushes, from which he gathered leaves and kneaded them into the water. While doing this he secretly dropped a fistful of black spines into each of the two pots. The spines sank to the bottom. He approached the patient, lighted a long ceremonial cigarette, and blew tobacco smoke at all parts of the body where the ailment might lodge. As he blew the smoke he gestured with his right hand in a motion of waving away breath from his mouth. After each blow he stood up and sent what seemed to be breath and smoke off in the direction of the river and in the direction of the forest. The blowing was accompanied by a shaking of the rattle and was followed by chanted